

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, SP, US

SUBJ: SPANISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS

1. SUMMARY: SPANISH FONMIN CORTINA CONTINUES TO HOPE FOR MORE POSITIVE ACTION BY NATO COUNTRIES--ESPECIALLY FRANCE AND FRG-- RE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN, ACCORDING TO PERINAT (DIRGEN FOR N. AMERICAN AFFAIRS AT FONMIN). HOWEVER, PERINAT UNDERLINED HIS OWN LONG-STANDING PESSIMISM ON THIS SCORE, SUGGESTING THAT SOLUTION LIES IN US/SPANISH BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, WITH U.S. RESPONSE AT NEXT ROUND TO SPANISH DESIDERATA BECOMING OF KEY IMPORTANCE IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE BROUGHT TO CONCLUSION BY SEPT 26, WHEN CURRENT AGREEMENT EXPIRES. PERINAT TOOK POSITION THAT, GIVEN INTERNAL REALITIES OF BOTH SPAIN AND U.S. SHARP REDUCTION IN U.S. PRESENCE SEEMS LIKELY RESULT OF NEW AGREEMENT. END SUMMARY

2. IN JULY 14 CONVERSATION WITH DCM AND POL/MIL COUNSELOR, PERINAT SAID THAT HIS OWN ADVICE ON FUTILITY AT THIS TIME OF HOPES FOR CLOSER NATO/SPANISH RELATIONSHIP CONTINUED TO BE OVERRIDDEN BY CORTINA. LATTER'S COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY ANALYSIS OF NATO PORTRAYS SMALLER NORTHERN EUROPEAN MEMBERS AS ESSENCE OF PROBLEM AND CONCLUDES THAT SOLID POSITION SHARED BY FRANCE, FRG, AND U.S. SHOULD BE ABLE TO FORCE CHANGES, PARTICULARLY IF UK AND ITALY BROUGHT ALONG. HE SAID CORTINA HOPES HIS RECENT MEETING WITH GISCARD WILL LEAD TO GISCARD'S REOPENING ISSUE WITH SCHMIDT. (WE USED
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OPPORTUNITY TO REINFORCE PERINAT'S PESSIIMISM

ABOUT ANY MORE POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM NATO.)

3. PERINAT, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, REITERATED VIEWS HE HAS VOICED IN PAST THAT ANSWER TO ISSUES OF EQUALITY AND SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR SPAIN LIES AT THIS TIME IN SPANISH /US BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. HE EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION, INCLUDING OPINION WITHIN MIDDLE RANKS OF MILITARY FORCES, TO MAKE POINT THAT NO AGREEMENT WHICH MAINTAINS PRESENT FACILITIES (AND THUS WARTIME VULNERABILITY) WITHOUT SECURITY GUARANTEE WOULD ENJOY VIABILITY. MILITARY AID CONTINUES IMPORTANT DESIDERATUM FOR SPANISH FORCES, BUT UNLIKE 1968-70 NEGOTIATIONS, IS ALSO FOR THEM NO LONGER ENOUGH. PERINAT MENTIONED, INTERALIA, A RECENT PETITION BY SOME 100 MEMBERS OF SPANISH PARLIAMENT TO PREMIER ARIAS URGING HARD LINE IN NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HE HAS SHOWN TO AMB MCCLOSKEY. HE SAID ARIAS AND TOP MILITARY WERE SENSITIVE TO INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND SHARED VIEW HE WAS PRESENTING. HE SAID ONE COULD NOT PREDICT WHEN FRANCO WOULD DIE, BUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT IN THIS NEGOTIATION TO REACH AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD SURVIVE HIM IF NEED BE. MENTION BY DCM OF POSSIBLE NEW FORM OF AGREEMENT, PROVIDING GREATER U.S. CONGRESSIONAL ROLE, AND CHARACTERIZATION BY DCM OF EXTENT OF REDUCTIONS BEING DISCUSSED AS DRASTIC ONES THAT, INTER ALIA, WOULD NOT BE COMPATIBLE WITH THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL ROLE BEING CONTEMPLATED, DID NOT DETER PERINAT IN EXPOSITION OF HIS VIEWS ALONG ABOVE LINES, EXCEPT FOR HIM TO SAY THAT WHAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED WAS NOT NECESSARILY EXACTLY WHAT FINAL RESULT WOULD BE.

4. ASKED TO PREDICT, IN LIGHT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS ON BOTH SIDES, WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE COMPLETED BY SEPT 26, PERINAT SAID MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON U.S. RESPONSES AT JULY 21 ROUND IN WASHINGTON TO SPANISH DESIDERATA PUT FORWARD IN LAST ROUND. HE BELIEVED THAT SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS IN U.S. FACILITIES MUST BE THE RESULT, BUT AGAIN QUALIFIED HIS COMMENTS BY NOTING NEGOTIABILITY OF SPANISH POSITIONS AS TO PRECISELY WHAT WOULD BE AFFECTED.

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5. FINALLY, PERINAT SAID HE FULLY EXPECTS A FURTHER ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS TO BE HELD IN AUGUST, PROBABLY IN SPAIN, AND MORE LIKELY IN MADRID THAN IN TRADITIONAL SUMMER CAPITAL OF SAN SEBASTIAN BECAUSE OF LIMITED OFFICE FACILITIES AT SAN SEBASTIAN.
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